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tipathies of Hay that coincide with those of the biographer are less often veiled in this fashion. The true attitude for the historian was stated by Mr. Hay himself when he was at work on Lincoln: "We will not fall in with the present tone of blubbery sentiment, of course. But we ought to write the history of those times like two everlasting angels who know everything, judge everything, tell the truth about everything, and don't care a twang of their harps about one side or the other" (2:33).

Yet with all its defects in temper and sympathy this is a biography of unusual merit. No library can omit it from its list, and no historian can ignore it.

FREDERIC L. PAXSON

The democracy of the constitution, and other addresses and essays. By Henry Cabot Lodge. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915. 297 p. \$1.50 net)

This work consists, as is indicated by the title, of a number of essays on miscellaneous subjects. The general title is undoubtedly derived from the material presented in the five chapters included in the first one hundred and sixty pages. The thesis which the author defends through these chapters may be summed up in his claim that the new movements for reform, the initiative, referendum, and recall are at fundamental variance with the principles of our federal constitution and are subversive of our representative system of government. There is nothing original or novel in this position nor are the arguments he presents different from those that have appeared elsewhere in defense of the *status quo*. The really significant thing is that a public man of the author's standing and attainments is willing to rest his case upon mere personal opinion.

The serious nature of the charges that have in the past been brought against our United States senate, many of our legislatures, and against our judicial system, to say nothing of the proved cases of graft and inefficiency in our local governments, seem to call for more than a conventional restatement, such as this, of the high purposes of our colonial forefathers and the perfection of our representative system. Our entire governmental machinery is showing the strain and stress of the new burdens and responsibilities it is at present compelled to carry. Before the civil war the complexity of modern life had barely reached us so as to affect appreciably our standard of living or our civic ideals. Since that time, from causes of which we have still but imperfect knowledge, there have come into our lives new and unexpected forces and tendencies that have forced us out of the old channels of thinking and acting and have compelled us as a nation to readjust no small part of our political and social program. Intelligent citizens are aware of the recent widespread multiplication of forms of corporate wealth with special interests

to defend, of the rise of a class of professional mercenaries trained to do the bidding of predatory wealth, of the indifference of the great mass of our best citizens, who are immersed in their own affairs, and, most menacing of all, of the increasing host of the landless, semi-criminal unemployed, who find their way to the jails, the poorhouses, and the hospitals, to be supported there by the taxpayers as a final increment of the heavy cost their ubiquitous presence imposes upon the body politic. To all appearances the author is unaware of this sinister background to the question and is, therefore, quite unable to see any special significance in the appearance at this time of the demand for the initiative, referendum, and recall in American public life or any meaning in the evident popularity these measures seem to evoke among the voters everywhere. He would make out quite a different case had he discussed these proposed reforms as symptomatic of the ingrained distrust an increasing number of our citizens are beginning to manifest openly for a system that permits the unrebuked exploitation of the poor and the weak. The time has gone by for the defenders of our present social order to deny the existence of deep seated abuses and corruption within the state and to seek to cover up the breakdown of our representative system at many vital points. There is no advantage to be derived from attempting any longer to conceal the fact that, in our central and in our local governments as well, there has appeared a striking inability on the part of our public men to keep abreast of progress and to forecast wisely what are to be the lines of reform in the near future. The present supporters of primary election and of initiative and referendum are by no means unanimous in holding that these new measures express the permanent form to be adopted for the future. As means to an end, however, these measures seem to have had an unexpected outcome in demonstrating how futile is the defense presented by opponents of reform. In addition to this purely negative result, there has been achieved the positive moral gain of forcing into the ranks of open defenders of the present system more and more of those who derive individual or class advantages from the established order. Those who have large property interests to be protected from inconvenient taxation, those in administrative and advisory positions within well intrenched organizations or at the head of the dominant social group, naturally view with some consternation the reforms that tend to level all wealth to the same incidence of taxation and to lower the prestige of the men who have shaped our legislative and judicial administration for the past half century.

Human nature is pretty much the same the world over and long immunity from public criticism has had the same effect on those in positions of power in the nineteenth century as in earliest Greek and Roman history. The American voter is fully awake at last to the imperative

need of holding men in high position strictly responsible for the administration of their governmental duties and also as accountable for their use of accumulated fortunes and of the power this wealth gives them. Whether we recognize it or not, we are trying by various expedients to adapt our system of government to the problem of socializing our national wealth and the power which temporary control of portions of this wealth gives to certain individuals in the social group. It is vain for the class just now under fire to hope to avoid the crisis that has arrived; no appeals to past success or to the patriotic achievements of bygone generations can avail to turn the tide of reform. That there is grave danger inherent in many propositions for reform, notably in the recall of judges, every prudent voter will admit. The greatest danger, however, is to be found in a wholesale condemnation of reform measures without an impartial consideration of both sides of the argument, such as is presented in the pages of this work. At a time when we need especially the exercise of cool reason on the part of our leaders, and when we have a right to expect a firm insistence on fundamentals in the midst of a nation wide movement forward, we are too often met by a sweeping denial of the need of reform and by an attempt to discredit a genuine demand for real civic and political responsibility on the part of those now in places of power.

The remainder of the work consists of miscellaneous essays on a variety of topics presented in that happy vein so characteristic of the ripe scholarship of the author. After reading the appreciative and comprehensive sketch of Calhoun and the half humorous but generous tribute to Thomas B. Reed, one can not help regretting that more of the intimate personal experience and mature judgment of such men did not find place among these published essays. In the closing chapter, we are made aware of quite another side of the author's nature, his delight in the masterpieces of literature and his discriminating appreciation of the immortal singers of all ages. It is certainly to be deplored that as a rule our public men have neither the leisure nor the aptitude for such subjects sufficient to enable them to meet on equal terms with the gentlemen and scholars of England or France.

O. G. LIBBY

Jewish immigration to the United States from 1881 to 1910. By Samuel Joseph, Ph.D., instructor, Commercial High School, Brooklyn, New York. [Studies in history, economics, and public law, edited by the faculty of political science of Columbia University, vol. lix, no. 4, whole no. 145] (New York: Columbia University, 1914. 209 p. \$1.50)

In the first part of his book Mr. Joseph considers the economic, social, and political conditions in eastern Europe in so far as they affect the